1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE HAKO: A PAWNEE CEREMONY

By ALICE C. FLETCHER

PREFACE

In the early eighties of the last century, while pursuing my study of the Omaha tribe, I several times witnessed the ceremony described in the following pages. Owing to the death of the only man who knew all the rituals, it became impossible to secure a complete record, but as the ceremony was an intertribal one I hoped to make good the loss in some other tribe. From statements made by the Omahas, the Ponkas, and the Dakotas I was led to believe that among the Pawnees this ceremony could be found still preserved in its entirety. I need not recount the failure of efforts made during some fifteen years to gain the desired information, since at last, in 1898, I found the long-sought opportunity. After four years of work, I am able to present the entire ceremony, as observed in the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe.

The difficulty of obtaining accurate first-hand information in regard to religious rites and beliefs is so well known that it seems proper to state briefly how I came by my opportunities. An extended and intimate acquaintance in one tribe opens the way in another. The warm friendship of old and leading men of the Omahas became my credentials to other tribes where these leaders were influential; and with the further assistance of Mr Francis LaFlesche, the son of the former head chief of the Omahas, I was able to establish relations of confidence with some of the old and prominent men of the Pawnees.

My experience has shown that no linguistic training will enable a student by himself to accomplish successfully the difficult task of recording and interpreting the rituals of a religious ceremony. He must have a native collaborator, one with a good knowledge of English and well versed in the intricacies of his own tongue, able to explain its "sacred language" and possessing those gifts of mind and character which fit him not only to grasp the ideals of his race but to commend himself to the keepers of the ancient rites. Such a collaborator makes a clear vision of the native mind possible to a student of another race.

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NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

buildings he said were unfitted to contain the sacred symbols of the religion of his ancestors, in the service of which he had spent his long life. He admired at a distance the Washington Monument, and when he visited it he measured the base, pacing and counting his steps. Then he stood close to the white shaft and looked up, noting its great height. After going inside, he was asked which he would take, the elevator or the stairs, and replied: "I will not go up. The white man likes to pile up stones, and he may go to the top of them; I will not. I have ascended the mountains made by Tira'wa." Equally characteristic was his interview with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. When introduced, he said: "I am glad to see you and to take you by the hand. Many chiefs of my tribe have done so. I never expected to do it. I came here to talk of the religion of my fathers, which I follow. You can ask my sister (referring to me) what I have said."

Tahirûssawichi had never been east of the Mississippi river until he came to Washington to engage in the preservation of this rite. Of the genuineness of his statements there can be no doubt. His position in the Pawnee tribe is that of a man worthy of respect—one versed in a knowledge of serious things, whose life has been devoted to the acquisition and maintenance of certain sacred rites. He is esteemed as a man of truth—one who has the favor of Tira'wa. He possesses a knowledge of curative roots, and often attends the sick, using herbs as medicine. He is the keeper of certain old and sacred objects, and leads in their attendant ceremonies. His great care in observing all the details of the intricate ceremony of the Hako is well known in the tribe, and much good fortune is believed to follow his leadership in this ceremony. His title is Ku'rahus. This term is applied to a man of years who has been instructed in the meaning and use of sacred objects as well as their ceremonies. The word is sometimes employed as a synonym for a venerable man, one who commands respect, but throughout this paper it is used in its official sense—the leader of the ceremony.

It has taken four years of close friendly relations with my kind old friend to obtain this ceremony in its entirety. Many of its rituals deal with very sacred subjects, and it has required much patience in the presentation of reasons why they should be explained to overcome the scruples born of the early training of the Ku'rahus. That he has finally made this record complete, so that the ceremony as known among his people can be preserved, is worthy of commendation. His work as it now stands shows Tahirûssawichi to be broad-minded as well as thoughtful, reverent, and sincere.

Graphophone records were taken of all the songs belonging to this ceremony. The music as here printed has been transcribed from the cylinders by Mr Edwin S. Tracy and each transcription has been verified by him from the singing of the Ku'rahus. It is to be regretted

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

1368 hiri! harken.
riru'tziraru, by reason of, because of.
sira, they took; refers to the leader and to the men who followed and depended on him.
sura, possess; to become one's own.
waurux', grasped, as a staff.
para, walked.
raru'tura, refers to that which descended to earth.
tuka'wiut, slantwise.
tari, end, or accomplished mission.
1369 rawa! attend! a call for attention at the moment.
hawa, once more.
urasharu, name.
we, I.
tatki'wati, change.
1370 hiri! harken!
tatux, we used to.
tapakiaho, speak of him.
hawa, once more.
Rarutska'tit, the former name, meaning black-feathered arrow.
hiri! harken!
raro, owner.
rikcha, lying. These words refer to the achievement commemorated by the name about to be thrown away.
ro re, vocables used for euphony and measure.
1371 hiri! harken!
wakoru, now we are.
ratora, all people.
pake'ûsto, speak out and say.
1372 hiri! harken!
akitaro, tribe.
hiwa, in the.
werataweko, prominent.
1373 hiri! harken!
Shaku'ru Wa'rukste, the new name now announced ("Sacred Sun").
hiriwa, in the process of making.
witi, himself.
rakawa'karu, what he is.
ko re, vocables used for euphony and measure.

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796*
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Closing Remarks of the Ku'rahus

During the days I have been talking with you (the writer) I have been carried back in thought to the time when Estamaza (the father of Francis LaFlesche) came to the Chaul. I met him in this ceremony; he was the Father, and as I have worked here day and night,

115
123

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

115 my heart has gone out to you. I have done what has never been
123 done before, I have given you all the songs of this ceremony and explained them to you. I never thought that I, of all my people, should be the one to give this ancient ceremony to be preserved, and I wonder over it as I sit here.

I think over my long life with its many experiences; of the great number of Pawnees who have been with me in war, nearly all of whom have been killed in battle. I have been severely wounded many times—see this scar over my eye. I was with those who went to the Rocky Mountains to the Cheyennes, when so many soldiers were slain that their dead bodies lying there looked like a great blue blanket spread over the ground. When I think of all the people of my own tribe who have died during my lifetime and then of those in other tribes that have fallen by our hands, they are so many they make a vast cover over Mother Earth. I once walked with these prostrate forms. I did not fall but I passed on, wounded sometimes but not to death, until I am here to-day doing this thing, singing these sacred songs into that great pipe (the graphophone) and telling you of these ancient rites of my people. It must be that I have been preserved for this purpose, otherwise I should be lying back there among the dead.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

song was sung twice. The connective phrase occurred between the second and third, and the fourth and fifth renditions. The song has a compass of nine tones, and progresses by whole tones except for three other intervals which occur only in downward progression. 533*

BEAR DANCE

There was no opportunity to witness this dance, and its details were not made a subject of inquiry. Ten songs of the dance were recorded, the first five by a member of the Chaui Band and the last five by a member of the Skidi Band. These two groups of songs are strikingly different in musical character. [123 126]

The next song was sung when all the participants in the Bear dance were seated. "Mother" was said to refer to the moon, and there was said to be a similar song containing the word "Father." A young man received this song in a dream, while mourning for his parents who had died. He saw a woman coming toward him, and said, "Mother is coming." The woman said," You have seen me, now you must learn this song." The young man learned the song, lived a long time afterwards, and took part in the Bear dance. When the song is used ceremonially there are six "stops" or verses, the general meaning of which is as follows: 533* 773 787 533*

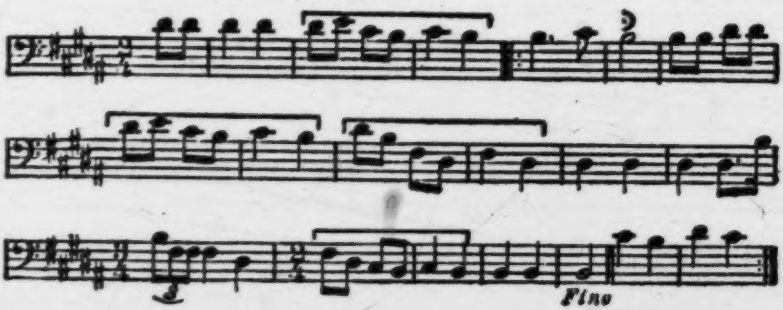
1. "Mother is coming."
2. The young man, devotional by nature, imagines that he is still mourning for his parents.
3. "Mother stands yonder."
4. The young man says, "Mother, standing in the sky, I want you to take pity on me."
5. "Mother now ends" (stands still).
6. "I will now say, I mean the mother who alone stands forever in the sky" (the moon).

No. 11. "Mother is Coming"

(Catalogue No. 1117)

Recorded by WICITA BLAIN

Voice ♩ = 126
Drum ♩ = 138, changing to ♩ = 126
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 8



12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885)1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

His was a singularly lovable nature. If the stronger manly points of his character inspired respect and admiration, not less did his gentleness and consideration for others win the deepest affection. He was modest almost to diffidence, and it was with difficulty that he could be induced to speak of his own heroic achievements. And yet his face told the story of the power within the man.

The secret of Major North's success in commanding the Pawnees, who loved him as much as they respected him, lay in the unvarying firmness, justice, patience and kindness with which he treated them. He never demanded anything unreasonable of them, but when he gave an order, even though obedience involved great peril, or appeared to mean certain death, it was a command that must be carried out. He was their commander, but at the same time their brother and friend. Above all, he was their leader. In going into battle he never said to them, "Go," but always "Come on." It is little wonder, then, that the devotion felt for him by all the Pawnee Nation, and especially by the men who had served under him in battle, was as steadfast as it was touching.

THE PAWNEES AND THEIR STORIES

Once the Pawnees were a great people. They were very numerous. They were undisputed masters of a vast territory. They had everything that heart could wish. Their corn and their buffalo gave them food, clothing and shelter; they had weapons for war and for the chase. They roamed over the country without let or hindrance. In peace they were light-hearted and contented; in war cunning, fierce and successful. Their name was a terror to their enemies. This was in the past. Now they are few in number, poor, a prey to disease, a vanishing race.

My acquaintance with the tribe began in 1870. From that time to the present I have had frequent intercourse with them; have lived in their villages; and been with them on their buffalo hunts. During the

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885)1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

123 weeks and months spent in camp and village, I have listened to many stories of Pawnee heroes and to folk-tales of the miraculous doings of the olden time. In my intercourse with the tribe, extending over a period of nearly twenty years, I have been deeply impressed by the high qualities of the Pawnee character; and the more familiar I have become with this people, the more strongly have I felt that a permanent record should be made of the tales which reflect that character. Unless thus collected now, much of this lore must inevitably be forgotten.

161 For the Pawnees are passing away. When I first joined them on their buffalo hunts from their old home on the Loup Fork in Nebraska, the tribe numbered three thousand; last March in the Indian Territory I 178 found but eight hundred. And more rapidly than the dwindling of the people are their traditions lapsing from memory under the changed conditions of the tribe's life. The lore, which sprang up as an indigenous growth of the wide-stretching prairie and the wilderness where the wild Pawnee warrior hunted free, finds scanty nurture in the uncongenial soil of fields tilled by Pawnee followers of the plow. With the new modes of living come new views of life, new motives, new sympathies—in a word, civilization. To earn a living by toil, to wrest subsistence from the earth, this is the problem confronting the Pawnees to-day, the task which is engaging the sinew and purpose of the tribe. In the transition stage, the memory of the old days, of old manners and rites and ceremonies and of old heroes, is with the elders of the race, those ancient braves whose lives bridge the past and the present. 126 When I visited the Agency last March, it was to write down from the lips of these old men such material as I could collect. When they shall die much of the unwritten lore will perish too, for with them will cease that sympathetic and perfect credence, which alone gives to folk-lore vitality and lastingness. What is written in this volume then belongs distinctly to the wild Indian.

The task that I have set for myself is that of a recorder. No attempt has been made to give a literary color to the hero stories and folk-tales here written out. I have scrupulously avoided putting into them anything of my own. The stories are told to the reader as they were told to me. They are not elaborated. I have tried to show how Indians think and speak, rather than to make their stories more entertaining by

602 tain that the children of brothers are brothers and sisters to each other, and that the children of two sisters are the same, but about the children of a brother and a sister I could not ascertain. There is no term for [601] aunt, therefore a father's sister is a mother, and probably her son is a brother, but on this point I could not make any certain [115] progress. Col. Peter A. Sarpy of St. Marys [582] told me that the father's sister was a grand mother, and a man could marry this grand mother. If there is no aunt, then a woman has no nephew and niece, and a woman's brother's son is her grand son. But the mother's brother is an uncle, and consequently a man has a nephew and niece. I think I can nearly write out this system, but at all events I feel sure Mr. Allis will be able to do it for me with the aid I shall now be able to give him.

123 I stayed with this pleasant family which consists of a mother, two sons and one grown daughter and also an orphan girl brought up by them, and the Pawnee woman besides the Rev. Samuel Allis now absent as before stated. They refused compensation for my entertainment, and I left them Friday morning to return to Mr. Hamilton at Bellevue, well pleased with my visit: I am 114 to write to Mr. Allis on my return, and to [125] send him a schedule and they say he will attend to it for me.

I returned about three o'clock, June 8, to Bellevue, and shall remain here until Saturday morning when I go up to Omaha to meet the boat on which I am to return to Rulo, where I shall make a desperate effort for the Blackfoot and the Sheyenne and also try at Omaha again for the Pawnee.

[P90 (B)]